

Conscripts Must Demand Workers' Rights in Answer To Brass-Hat Totalitarians

AN EDITORIAL

General Hugh Johnson, who writes a column for the Scripps-Howard papers, is pretty sore these days. This is nothing new on the general's part, but this time he is really mad. He read a speech made recently by Senator Wheeler in New York in which the senator said that "Dr. Gallup . . . may with the approval of Secretary Stimson poll our armed forces (on the question of war or peace). That venerable warrior, Mr. Stimson, expects a satisfactory result." The general boils over and says: "Such a poll of such people on such a question would be as great a scandal as ever disgraced the army. In the first place, it is no part of the duty of the armed forces in actual service to express opinions on public and partisan policy."

The General Speaks the Brass Hat View

We agree with the general that the army might be disgraced if by "the army" he means the command; including the general staff, the War Department, the White House and many of the officers of the line. If the voting was done by secret ballot we are convinced that the results would be overwhelmingly against the draft and for keeping out of the war. Furthermore, if they were asked, the men would probably vote that the majority of the officers are a bunch of incompetent dodos and ignoramuses. The men have probably already discovered that for the new type of warfare the present officers are just about as useful today as an old-fashioned puddler would be in the management of an automatic strip mill. Yes, a poll of the army would probably turn out to be a "scandal."

Not only this, but, according to the general, the men in the army are supposed to be a bunch of Charlie McCarthys, robots, mechanical toys. They have no business to express opinions on "public . . . policy." The general waxes poetic: "theirs not to reason why; theirs but to do or die." We are not certain what Tennyson meant, but we know that the general means: do what you are told or you will be shot. This "may sound totalitarian," says Johnson, but that is the law of the army, it is military "gospel." That's right, it's the law of the militarist, of any moron who happens to have juggled a commission for himself. It's the law of the government and the ruling class, because the bosses can't afford to have anyone question their sacred right to wage imperialist wars for plunder and profit.

The general says that "men in military service are not free agents." He's right again. The common soldiers are the victims of capitalism and imperialism. They are forced to serve under any dunderhead in soldier straps or any doddering old fossil with enough political pull to become a general.

The general becomes more eloquent as he goes along. Like an old-fashioned knight or a present-day Nazi, he glorifies the soldier and sings praises to the art of war. Of arms and the man I sing: "fighting is why soldiers were made and, especially among the younger men whose fate it is to seek . . . reputations even in the cannon's mouth," you are almost sure to find eagerness to test their worth in the profession to which they have been trained since boyhood." This is all so much tripe. The overwhelming majority of the men in the army are not the professional soldier type. Hundreds of thousands of them are workers who correctly don't give a damn about the army and want to get out as soon as they can.

Men Must Demand Workers' Rights

We believe that the men in the army should demand the right to have their say on "public and partisan policy." They are involved and their security and lives are at stake. They are the ones being asked to die. And for what? For the 90,000 square miles of oil land that Rockefeller has in Iraq. For the Morgan investments in continental Europe. For the Chase National Bank interests in South America. For these and similar imperialist plunderings the American workers have been forced into the army. And Johnson says: "theirs not to reason why; theirs but to do or die."

Not only should the soldiers demand the right to express themselves on public policy but they should also demand the right to ORGANIZE AND BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY WITH THE OFFICERS. They should demand the right to FREE SPEECH, FREE PRESS AND FREE ASSEMBLY IN THE CAMPS.

This means setting up grievance committees, publishing their own political papers and holding their own meetings. There is no democratic reason why the soldiers in the army should have fewer rights than the workers outside the army.

LABOR ACTION

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ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

THREE CENTS

CONSCRIPT WAR INDUSTRIES UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL!

THE WORLD AT WAR

TWU Battles With Facts Against Fakes

The "Little Flower" Is Trying to Act Like a "Little Ford"

By SUSAN GREEN

NEW YORK—Continuing its fight for recognition by Mayor La Guardia as representing the 32,000 subway workers of the city of New York, the Transport Workers Union will hold street corner meetings in all the boroughs of the city. In the next two weeks it will use this means to intensify its drive for full public support. That the TWU already has wide public support in its struggle was amply attested by the enormous turn-out of tens of thousands at its Madison Square rally on May 21.

So reasonable is the TWU demand that the Board of Transportation enter into collective bargaining agreements covering wages, hours and conditions of employment on the subway lines that only the rankst reactionaries can withhold sympathy and support.

Answer Union-Busters

In the meantime the battle of facts against fakes rages. The union's weapons are the facts—the union-busters' weapons are fakes.

Thus a report of the executive committee of the New York Civil Service Reform Association, on the union-busting side, states that the transit workers brought into civil service through unification of the subway, have lost the right to strike and to engage in collective bargaining.

Harry Sacher, attorney for the TWU, retorts: "Why this loss occurred was not explained. This action was taken notwithstanding that other government agencies engaged in similar enterprises not only have recognized the right of collective bargaining, but have accepted other procedures, including impartial arbitration of grievances, which exclude employer absolutism from industry." "These practices," continued Mr. Sacher, "have not commended themselves to the three commissioners who comprise New York City's Board of Transportation, who, appointed by the mayor for six-year terms, constitute an autonomous body responsible to nobody. The board's powers over the transit facilities and employees who operate them are virtually absolute."

The crux of the whole matter Mr. Sacher stated very well in the following:

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As Famine Tramples Europe, Hitler and Mussolini Meet And British Await U. S. Moves

By MAX STERLING

On Monday, Hitler met his subordinate, Mussolini, at the Brenner Pass. This is the sixth time since the start of the war that the two dictators have met. As usual their meeting ended in a "complete accord" on all questions. We can well imagine who did the talking and who the listening. That is how it is between the victor and the one who is being propped up.

Prior conversations between the two dictators have led to important actions. What did they talk about this time? Because of the secrecy,

HE TALKS . . .



HE LISTENS . . .



no one can say for certain. However, it is possible to guess. From the way the stage is set certain speculations may be made.

A Morsel for France?

The meeting took place in the midst of the campaign for the Middle East and the Mediterranean. Crete is in the hands of the Nazis. The next step is the island of Cyprus, and Syria. The Vichy government is co-operating with the Nazis in Syria and the latter are using the Syrian airfields. Ankara reports that German motorized forces have landed in northern Syria. Berlin reports that a state of siege has been proclaimed for eastern Syria by General Dentz, the French high commissioner of the Syrian mandate. The British have bombed an Italian ship in a French Tunisian port.

These French territories, plus French Morocco and Algeria, are part of the pattern in the Mediterranean, African and Middle Eastern struggle. For French aid, Hitler has undoubtedly made some deal with Petain. This deal is submitted to Mussolini for acceptance. He will probably be disappointed that certain French territories that he has been eyeing will be denied him. Nevertheless he must accept, since, after all, he continues to rule only because of German bayonets. In the German

scheme of things, France is more important than Italy, especially as the war takes on world-wide dimensions.

Sooner or later in the Mediterranean battle, the Nazis will have to make an assault on Gibraltar. This means another deal with Spain and this too is put before Mussolini for acceptance. The deals made with France and Spain are not the only ones. When Crete fell the talk in Rome was that now a new route had opened up for the transportation of Russian grain and oil to Italy through the Black Sea, the Dardanelles and the Aegean. What is Stalin getting for this material aid to Mussolini and Hitler? Is part of Iran and an outlet to the Indian Ocean the price? If so, what more will the Kremlin have to do for Berlin and Rome?

We can very well guess that possible moves by Roosevelt were also

That Is Our Counter-Proposal To the Bill Giving Roosevelt War Power Over Property

On the heels of the President's proclamation of unlimited emergency, the Administration has asked Congress for the authority to requisition any property—personal, real or private—necessary for use in "national defense," with adequate compensation to be decided by the President.

During the First World War there were some 20 bills similar in purport. The present bill is somewhat more sweeping—in the same sense that this war is more sweeping than the last war.

On the face of it, the request seems eminently fair, and many workers may be deluded by the "impartiality" of it. John Dough gives up a factory; John Doe gives up a pot. In reality, however, it is a tremendous fake—based on an even greater fake: namely,

that the war into which Roosevelt is driving the American people against their will is a war for "national defense."

Now, let us get one thing straight first: we favor conscription of the war industries, and, more than that, we favor the expropriation of the Sixty Families who live like so many leeches, sucking profits out of the working class.

BUT when we propose that the war industries be conscripted, we add that THEY BE PUT UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL.

And further: we do not propose it to promote the lie of "national defense" which in actuality means "profit defense."

A lot of people will seize upon Roosevelt's request, in approval or in criticism, to holler about "socialism."

NONSENSE!

Roosevelt is doing no more than he considers necessary to preserve the profit system under the demands of modern warfare. Wilson found similar measures necessary. And most of big business will see the need—even if they do squawk a bit.

And that's what every worker must understand. ROOSEVELT HAS IMPOSED A WAR RULE ON THE UNITED STATES IN ORDER TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR AMERICAN BOSSES TO EXTRACT THE GREATER PROFITS OF WAR PREPARATION AND WORLD CONQUEST.

If a boss has to give up a factory (for whatever Roosevelt pays him) he is only giving up what is necessary to save him AS A BOSS. But if a worker gives up a pot—AND THE PROVISIONS OF THE BILL ARE SO SWEEPING THAT A WORKER MAY BE FORCED TO GIVE UP HIS MISERABLE BIT OF PERSONAL "PROPERTY"—he is contributing, in however small a way, to the preservation of the profit system through the prosecution of imperialist war!

Big Business came out of the last war with its property and profits not only intact, but increased. A good deal of its increased property was outrightly bought for it with government money. Today the government is doing the same. It is buying industry new plants out of the money turned over to it by the mass of people. It will continue to do so through laws already enacted allowing business amortization of plant expansion—that is, allowing it to charge the cost of new plants against taxation.

There you see how the Roosevelt system operates. It is shaped according to the desires and the needs of the American plutocracy.

And that's what's wrong with it! WE WANT TO REPLACE THE PROFIT SYSTEM WITH THE SOCIALIST OWNERSHIP OF INDUSTRY BY THE WORKERS—THE PEOPLE WHO OPERATE THE MACHINES, WHO MAKE PRODUCTION POSSIBLE!

Wars are fought for profits. No profit—no war! Profits are a return on the exploitation of labor which is made possible by the fact that a few men OWN the factories and

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West Coast Labor Resists Jingo Attack on Strikes

Timber Workers, Machinists, Aircraft Workers Put up a Magnificent Fight for Decent Wages and Conditions

By JACK WILSON

LOS ANGELES—West Coast labor is putting up a magnificent fight on every front against the attempts of the Roosevelt war machine to steamroller over the rights and conditions earned through many years of struggle here.

1. 12,000 timber workers rejected an arbitrary order of Roosevelt's mediation board to give up their fight for a decent contract in the Washington lumber area, despite the highest pressure possible on the union leaders and the strikers.

2. The AFL and CIO machinists in San Francisco are still holding picket lines solid and even the capitalist press admits that over 14,000 other workers are respecting the picket lines.

3. Over 11,000 North American Aircraft workers in Los Angeles told their negotiating committee to go back to Washington and stick to the basic demands of 75 cents an hour minimum and a ten cent general raise at Mediation Board hearings.

The strike call for Tuesday was postponed since it was agreed to make any concessions retroactive to May 1.

4. More than 3,000 CIO warehouse-

men in San Francisco were ready to hit the pavement today to protect the rights of women workers and get them equal pay with men on the same jobs. (The employers agreed to a ten cent raise for men but discriminated against the nearly 1,000 women employed.)

Unions on Firm Ground

In each of these major struggles—there are many others too—the union has a clear cut case, which can't be answered.

The lumber companies, the aircraft corporations, the shipyards and the warehouses are making a big pile of dough. This is common public knowledge and the companies have not dared try deny these facts.

The workers are very dissatisfied with present wage scales since the rapidly mounting cost of living is squeezing them dry. So they demand what justly belongs to them.

Ordinarily, victory would be a cinch.

But now the employers have a powerful open ally in the Roosevelt regime which joins the bosses in yelling "national defense" and hiding all direct attacks on labor under this guise.

Today Roosevelt declared all war industries to be so in name. The purpose of this is to scare labor out of fighting for its just demands. The pattern of tricks runs like this:

An employer doesn't produce government orders unless he gets at least 10 or 12 per cent clear profit. (The shipyard companies refused to build ships last year unless their rate of 8 per cent profit was boosted to 10 and 12 per cent. On British orders, by the way, the rate of profit is much higher.) This is the regular legal procedure which guarantees the bosses they'll make profit out of this war.

When the unions ask for a cut of this gravy, they are rejected. The employers tell the negotiating committees that they can't lower their rate of profit. Since the unions know this is baloney they prepare to strike to achieve their aims.

Usually, the union would call a strike immediately, but now a combined propaganda campaign forces them to proceed more cautiously. Workers are told that to strike is to delay or sabotage "national defense."

So, the men hesitate until they see that falling for this gag means that the employers have their own way,

chisel on wages and conditions, and ride high, wide and handsome like in the open shop days.

Red scares and war hysteria are pumped into the minds of the people to make it more difficult for them to see the issues clearly: the bosses are getting theirs, and the men are getting hooked. And the men are fighting against this injustice.

The press of economic insecurity is forcing the workers to battle despite all the torrent of abuse and lies hurled at them. And they are becoming increasingly bitter about the raw deal of the Roosevelt regime.

So the strikers are remaining solid. Fancy maneuvers, calls to Washington, phony peace announcements, delays, etc., are used to weaken or break these strikes. In each case the unionists are standing firm because they haven't got what they must have in order to live.

The propaganda about "national defense" isn't catching much hold. That is why the unions and the Roosevelt regime are in a head-on collision.

Showdowns in lumber, the shipyards and aircraft are unavoidable this week.

The unionists are learning through

painful experience that they have no friends except themselves. That what they get depends on their own strength.

Terrific Pressure

The pressure on union leaders is simply terrific. FBI men shadow them continuously. Now the trick is to call them to Washington where all sorts of heat is put on them by various government officials. Meanwhile on the picket lines rumors and lies are spread to divide the men.

The resistance of the strikers up and down the coast to these kinds of tactics is a good demonstration of the remarkable power of the union movement, and what it has learned.

Over the week end, all the aircraft plants, the shipyards and other major industrial points were placed under military surveillance, again primarily as a means of intimidating the workers from fighting against attempts to enslave them.

Pursuit planes fly overhead, anti-aircraft and machine guns have been mounted, "unlimited emergency" has been proclaimed, all to terrorize labor.

But thus far, labor stands solid. Roosevelt strike-breaking hasn't succeeded yet. This is the big week.

With the Labor Unions On the Picket Line

By David Coolidge

WE'VE GOT OUR OWN IDEA, MR. ROOSEVELT

In his speech last week threatening to start a real "shooting war" President Roosevelt gave a warning to "labor." He said: "the actual production and transportation of machinery of defense must not be interrupted by disputes between capital and labor. A nation-wide machinery for conciliation and mediation of industrial disputes has been set up. That machinery must be used promptly—and without stoppage of work. Collective bargaining will be retained, but the American people expect that impartial recommendations of our government conciliation and mediation services will be followed, both by capital and labor."

The capitalist press, the bosses and the labor haters in Congress were especially "impressed" by this part of Roosevelt's speech. They should be, because the sentiment expressed by Roosevelt was right up their alley. That is what the bosses and their stooges have been saying for months. We will leave to Roosevelt the settlement of disputes between "capital and labor." That's a quarrel inside his own family. We don't want to interfere there. But the disputes between "labor and labor, or capital and labor," that's our business and we don't grant Roosevelt and the bosses the right to say the deciding word. Disputes within the working class and its organizations must be settled by the workers without the "assistance" of the bosses or the bosses' capitalist government. This includes the disputes between the AFL and CIO, as well as the jurisdictional disputes that arise inside organized labor.

Roosevelt said that the mediation machinery must be used without stoppage of work. That is, Roosevelt demands and attempts to enforce a "cooling off" period. If the workers

have grievances that have not been adjusted with the employer, they must automatically be submitted to the Mediation Board before a strike is called. This, of course is a plain strike-breaking attitude. Workers should reject this procedure completely. The primary relationship of the workers is to the employer, not to the Mediation Board. If a union cannot reach an agreement with the boss and its demands are rejected, then the union should call a strike and go through with it. Of course production should be stopped. That is the basic method for labor to win its demands; stop production, which means stopping the bosses' profits.

All the hokus-pokus about "defense" production is only a trick to fool labor. The bulk of the profits of the bosses now are coming from this so-called defense production; this production of war materials is for the imperialist war. Capitalist profits leap to the skies but the workers are told that they should make sacrifices. A worker making guns, airplanes and bullets gets just as hungry as one making paper novelties and silk hats. If there is to be sacrificing; let the bosses do it. They're the ones getting the big profits from the war.

Roosevelt says that "collective bargaining will be retained." Collective bargaining will be retained if the workers insist. It won't be retained just because Roosevelt says so. Labor will "retain collective bargaining" by the use of the same methods used to get it: organization, militancy and the strike. Roosevelt didn't give labor collective bargaining, and he cannot take it away unless labor goes to sleep and puts its case in the hands of some phony outfit such as the Mediation Board.

BILL GREEN WIELDS THE "BIG STICK"

Roosevelt showed labor the mailed fist and following his speech the Executive Council of the AFL fell in line with its own Big Stick. Against the bosses? Not on your life; not Green, Woll, Frey and Hutchinson. Green and the Council pledged the support of the AFL for aid to Britain, and as a measure of "sacrifice for the national defense" agreed to the President's command for submitting disputes to mediation before striking.

The Council said that it would discipline all directly-chartered organizations and would urge internationalists to take similar action. This is an interesting decision by the Council. No one has been able to get such positive action from Green and the others in connection with racketeering in the AFL. According to Green, the Council and the convention were helpless. Green went so far as to ask the FBI to assist the Council in cleaning out the racketeers from the AFL. The Council couldn't rid the organization of Scalise and the other racketeers who infest the AFL. We suppose too that George A. Browne, was present at the Council meeting that passed this resolution, calling off strikes in the AFL. Browne is a member of the

Council and president of the Theatrical Stage Employees. He is a racketeer who has recently been indicted by a federal court for extorting \$550,000 from the movie industry. That great labor statesman and incorruptible citizen, Willie Bluff was also indicted along with Browne. Willie has just completed a six months jail sentence for pandering.

Green and his Executive Council can't clean out the racketeers, crooks and panders from the AFL but they can get tough with the militant workers who want to raise their wages. Of course Green, the Executive Council and the racketeers in the AFL don't need to raise their wages and shorten their hours. They are fat and well-dressed.

Green and his friends have sold out completely to the bosses on the question of supporting the imperialist war. AFL workers must be prepared for the rankst type of betrayal from this gang. They have been sold down the river. Any efforts of militant AFL workers to better their condition during the war, will have to be carried on with the full knowledge that Bill Green will be against them.

Kansas City Chief of Police 'Honors' Shachtman Meeting

KANSAS CITY, Mo., May 28—Continuing his swing across the country, Max Shachtman addressed a lively meeting in Kansas City last evening. The audience was comprised largely of young persons who were keenly aware of international problems and anxious to find a way out. Several of them decided to form a unit of the Young Peoples Socialist League.

The meeting was planned as a closed affair, in order not to attract the attention of Chief of Police Reed and his 13-man "red squad" who have been physically deporting out-of-town "reds," arresting radicals and intimidating meetings of all kinds, including YWCA groups. In spite of these precautions, two huskies turned up to hear Comrade Shachtman, one of whom proved to be Chief Beatty, chief of police in Kansas City, Kan., who publicly boasts of his close work with the FBI in the labor movement.

However, the speaker captured his crowd completely, and it was evident that the chief, too, not only had a pleasant evening, but also learned a great deal about the nature of war and imperialism.

Best in City, Says St. Louis

ST. LOUIS, June 2—Max Shachtman spoke last night to an attentive audience of 60 workers at a public meeting sponsored by the St. Louis branch of the Workers Party. Comrade Shachtman's speech on "How to Crush Hitlerism—The Socialist Way" was received with applause and drew many expressions of praise at the conclusion of the meeting. Almost \$20 was collected from admissions, sale of literature, etc. Especially noteworthy was the sale of literature prior to Shachtman's speech, resulting from a special literature talk by one of the comrades of the Branch. The meeting was in every respect the most successful ever held in this city by the WP or SWP.

Schedule of Shachtman National Tour

Akron	Monday, June 9
Youngstown	Tuesday, June 10
Pittsburgh	Wednesday-Thursday, June 11-12
Philadelphia	Sunday, June 15
Washington	Friday, June 13
Baltimore	Saturday, June 14
Reading	Monday, June 16
Mt. Carmel	Tuesday, June 17
Newark	Wednesday, June 18
Massachusetts (Boston, Lynn, Worcester, Fitchburg)	Friday to Monday, June 20-23

"Negro Speaks Out" Committee Plots Feeble Path With Faulty Compass

Gathering of Prominent Negroes Looks Suspiciously Like an "Innocent" Group Concocted by the Stalinists

By DAVID COOLIDGE

Last week the Stalinist Daily Worker and some of the Negro weeklies carried an advertisement entitled "Negroes Speak Out." The Negro papers also carried a press release, presumably from the group that was speaking out for the 15,000-20,000 Negroes in the United States. The Daily Worker made quite a display under a two-line, five-column head. This was the Daily Worker of Tuesday, May 27.

Among the "initiators" and "sponsors" of the new group are some of the most prominent Negroes in the United States. In the list of "initiators" are Dr. Sara W. Brown, a trustee of Howard University; Dr. W. H. Jernagin, president of the Baptist Young People's Union; Dr. David D. Jones, president of Bennett College; Earl B. Dickerson, alderman, city of Chicago; Dr. A. Clayton Powell, Abyssinian Baptist Church, New York; Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president, Morehouse College; Bishop Reverdy C. Ransom, African Methodist Episcopal Church; C. C. Spalding, Prof. Doxey Wilkerson of Howard University and Bishop W. J. Walls of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.

Another member of the "initiating group" is Max Yergan, who is set down as the "director, Council on African Affairs." Mr. Yergan is also treasurer of the movement, and those interested are asked to send contributions to him.

And the "Sponsors"

Among the "sponsors" are: George S. Scuyler; Rufus E. Clement, president, Atlanta University; Robert P. Daniel, president, Shaw University; J. A. Cotton, president, Knoxville College; John M. Gandy, president, Virginia State College; and J. B. Randolph, president of Clafin University. Then there are numerous YMCA secretaries, other college

presidents, teachers, preachers, lawyers and other Negroes in the professions.

Also among the "sponsors" are Ben Davis, Jr., editorial board of the Daily Worker; James W. Ford, Stalinist candidate for vice-president; numerous members of the Young Communist League, the International Workers Order and the International Labor Defense. Also among the sponsors and initiators are a dozen or so Negro organizers and leaders in various CIO unions.

Its Purpose as Stated

The statement issued by the group bears the title: "The Present Position of the Negro People in America." The declaration begins: "At this crucial stage in our country's history there are mighty forces that seek to undermine democracy in the name of defending democratic rights." The statement then goes on to discuss "discrimination, Jim-Crowism, segregation and unemployment." "This discrimination," says the statement, "is in clear violation of the Constitution of the United States." Leaders of government "have taken definite steps in the enforcing of Jim-Crowism as a national policy. . . . today they carry this policy one step further in the exclusion of Negro workers from jobs in defense industries. . . . we declare ourselves unalterably opposed to Jim-Crow as a national policy."

The ills of the Negro population increase, but the enactment of anti-lynching and anti-poll tax laws and the removal of all discrimination would be to Negroes a clear indication of the democratic intentions of our government. But we have been given no such indication. On the contrary, in the name of 'defense,' our condition grows worse." The signers of the statement have the feeling that the war has something to do with the situation and "The Negro people cannot avoid the conclusion that the war drive and the denial and destruction of democratic rights go together. . . . it is impossible for us to see how a program of 'national defense' can become a reality, when, in the very process, constitutional liberties are denied such a large segment of the population. . . . The Negro people want nothing of Hitler; they detest him and all his practices. On the other hand, the British warmakers hold Africa, India, the West Indies and other colonial areas in a cruel bondage often infinitely worse than the oppression known by Negroes in America."

World at War-

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Canal, then we can refer him to Australian Prime Minister Menzies who, speaking in Melbourne on June 1, said that "owing to our lack of machines, the story of retreat and defeat in the Middle East is not yet finished. For months it will be our job to slow down the enemy, bring him to a standstill and then hit him so as to destroy him."

If we ignore the last part of this quotation it is clear enough what the British themselves think about their chances in the present arena of the war. We have pointed out previously in this column that Churchill, in his speech after the Battle of the Balkans, practically wrote off everything except the Battle of the Atlantic and the Battle of Britain. If these dire estimates come from the lips of leading British statesmen themselves, then Hitler might very well have told Mussolini just how he wanted the new lot divided. It is our guess that Mussolini wasn't promised too much of it, certainly less than what he might have timidly asked for.

Of course Churchill will fight to the last British and colonial soldier to delay and if possible to beat the Germans in the Middle East. However, Crete was a terrible lesson. By now the British must know that airpower is winning the battles. Their hope is that seapower can prevent the Germans from winning the war until American airpower can be developed in sufficient strength to win both the battles and the war.

Famine Cuts Deeper

As for the Germans, each new victory brings new suffering. Berlin reported jubilation over the Crete victory. This was followed by a 20 per cent reduction in the meat ration plus further reductions in consumer articles. There is certainly no jubilation in the homes of the thousands of German soldiers who were killed like flies or drowned like rats in the sea. Nor can there be much frivolity, while the war rages, in those countries that are supposedly out of it. The American ex-ambassador to Belgium, John Cuddeback, reports, for example, that 8,300,000 out of 8,400,000 Belgians are subsisting on starvation rations.

Regardless of the sufferings of the people, the war proceeds from one step to the next. The imperialist protagonists know that time is of the essence. The Germans want to drive ahead as fast as possible while the British and American war leaders want to slow up that advance. After Crete, the Nazis prepare their leap to Cyprus and Syria. Iraq is now in British hands but the Germans expect to attend to that in due time. Without Syria the British foresee the finish of Cyprus after the style of Crete. The British occupation of Syria will give them that proximity to Cyprus necessary to offset the German Luftwaffe which will have to fly from much farther bases. That is why there is so much clamor in London for invasion of Syria; and that may also be the reason for Weygand's flying visit on Monday to Petain.

The stage is all set but one must never exclude new surprises. Besides the German enlistment of France, Spain and Russia, there is Turkey. For that too covers part of the German road to the Middle East.

Despite the fact that the statement recites the wrongs suffered by the Negro, the signers seem completely oblivious of the fact that there are reasons for Jim-Crow and that these reasons can readily be discovered by anyone with the intelligence and courage to look capitalism straight in the face. These Negro leaders seem to be of the opinion that American democracy is all right in and of itself (whatever that means) but that it has been distorted by a group of bad men in the government and in industry.

They talk about violation of the Constitution. Of course the Constitution is violated. Whose Constitution is it? Is it the Negroes' Constitution or any worker's Constitution? If the Negroes or any other workers' group had framed this Constitution they would have the power to enforce it. This Constitution is the organic law of a certain capitalist state, a certain imperialist state: the United States. The capitalist class which operates that state bends the Constitution to serve its own class purposes and protect its own class interests. It is not in the interest of the ruling class to eliminate Jim-Crow. Jim-Crow today is one of the pillars of capitalism in the United States. Its main function is to maintain and intensify the separation of the white and Negro workers so that there will be no solidarity in the working class.

"Our Government"

They talk about the "democratic intentions of our government." The democratic intentions of our government are to protect capitalism and American imperialism. That's what "our government" is for; that's its chief reason for being. The present "democratic intentions of our government" are to get into the war, defeat German imperialism and gobble up as much as they can of the British Empire for the use of America's "Sixty Families." The government has given no indication that it intends to treat Negroes fairly, says the statement. Of course not. Imperialist governments don't treat any workers fairly. Imperialism is the most intense and most vicious stage of capitalist exploitation. Negroes are treated worse because they are the weakest group among the working class, and the workers as a whole have not learned yet to close ranks against the common exploiter.

To be sure "the war drive and the denial and destruction of democratic rights go together." This is an imperialist war and everything is subordinated to the aims and goal of the imperialists. If the interests of the ruling class are served by the elimination of Jim-Crow, then eliminated it will be. But their interests are not served in this manner so they keep it going in peacetime and in wartime.

Who are the "common people" with whom Negroes should ally themselves? The statement is very broad and general. The only "common people" whose interests are identical with those of the Negroes is the white working class. Yes, the Negro workers and the white workers must join hands and close ranks. This is the road to the elimination of Jim-Crow. We do not believe that Negro college presidents, businessmen and professionals will render

very effective aid in bringing this to pass. We are just as skeptical of this being forwarded by this type of Negro as we are of the same results being sought by white business men and college presidents. And the reasons for our skepticism are the same in the case of both groups. There is a Negro ruling class in relation to Negro workers just as there is a white ruling class in relation to all the workers. The fact that the Negro ruling class is a sort of appendage to the white ruling class does not destroy the facts in the situation.

The Negro leaders who issued this declaration are only saying that if the government and industry will only grant Negroes the same status as white workers, they would have no cause for complaint. This may be true of these Negro college presidents, lawyers, preachers, teachers, bishops and YMCA secretaries. But how about the great mass of Negroes who have no such favored economic and social status? We are against Jim-Crow wherever it shows its head, in peacetime or wartime, in the army, the navy or industry. Negroes should fight against Jim-Crow but this is not enough, especially during the Second World Imperialist War. The main enemy of Negroes as of white workers is capitalism and imperialism war.

The statement talks of setting "our compass in the direction of freedom, security and full citizenship rights." In this period of imperialist war you can set your compass any way you please, but you need something more than steam to get to port. Your ship might be sunk by a fellow more realistically and sensibly prepared.

This is a very weak pronouncement issued by a weak and helpless group. They neither understand the realities of the present-day world nor are they prepared to go through even with the very modest demands they make. When the United States enters the war, most of them will shut up and go over bag and baggage to the warmakers just like the whites of their type. They will be flag wavers and flaming patriots. What else can they do? They are not Negro workers and do not suffer the same as the real Negro worker. As soon as the government begins to crack down they will find all manner of excuses for supporting the war. This will be easy for them because they are not against the war now. Even now they are only asking the government to give them the opportunity to support the war on equal footing with the whites.

As to the Stalinists

There is one other observation that we wish to make before we close. That is about the Stalinists. We pointed out in the beginning certain well-known Stalinists who are prominent in this new committee. It is clear that this is another one of the numerous Stalinist innocents' group. The statement itself is just a mish-mash as only the Stalinists could concoct. The whole thing was probably organized by Max Yergan, who is well known as a Stalinized Negro intellectual. And then there are James Ford and Ben Davis, Jr., both Stalinist functionaries.

We object to these Stalinist organizations not because they are groups formed by a political party, or because they are "red," or revolution-

ary or for the overthrow of capitalism. No, we object because they are fakes and because Stalinism is a virulent poison in the labor movement. The Stalinists corral these Negro intellectuals and attempt to turn them against the war. But the Stalinists are not against the war; they are only against the United States and England. This for the reason that Stalin is hand in glove with Hitler since the Stalin-Hitler pact. The Stalinists are not against imperialism, but only against British-American imperialism. They are in one of the imperialist camps (Germany's) themselves, and are in no sense a revolutionary anti-war group. Whenever it serves the interests of Stalin, orders will go out and the Stalinists in the United States will begin waving the flag and shouting for the U. S. to get into the war. That is, they will return to their position of the days of "collective security" when they were singing the Star Spangled Banner and urging the "democracies" (England, France and the United States) to go to war against Germany.

We say that the Stalinists are a poison in the labor movement. Wherever they have any influence in the unions they debauch the movement and subject the workers to all the twists and turns of Stalin's foreign policy. They encourage or retard the militancy of the workers, depending on the particular political axe they have to grind at the moment. If they are friendly to the U. S. they confine their militancy to writing protest postal cards to "liberal" congressmen. If, as today, they are in a pact with the fascist Hitler, they are against the U. S. entering the war.

What We Believe

The Workers Party believes that Negroes should always fight for ECONOMIC, SOCIAL and POLITICAL equality. They should fight against every manifestation of Jim-Crow everywhere and all the time. This fight must be carried on by the Negro workers, as workers. The white workers must join with the Negroes in this struggle. They must take the initiative and lead in this struggle for liberation of the Negro people.

The struggle today must center on the Second World Imperialist War. The fight against Jim-Crow is the fight against capitalism. The fight against the misery and insecurity of the Negro people is the struggle against United States imperialism and against capitalist barbarism. The victory of the Negro people can only come with the victory of the working class. The leading of the workers, Negroes included, to victory over capitalism and imperialism is a task that can be performed only by the revolutionary party of the workers. The workers in the United States must have such a party. Negro workers must join, along with the white workers. The Workers Party stands on such a platform.

FOR PEACE THROUGH SOCIALISM!

FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF THE AMERICAS!

FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE!

FOR THE SOCIALIST WORLD FEDERATION.

FROM OUR WEST COAST CORRESPONDENT

Draftees Oppose FDR War Program

Ninety-nine per cent of the draftees are against the United States going to war against the Axis powers immediately. Seventy-six per cent of the draftees are against fighting overseas at any time! These statistics, along with many others, were released from Camp Callan, near San Diego, by the Army, which stated that they were gathered by a former associate of Dr. George Gallup of Gallup poll notoriety, and were said to represent what the entire army would think like, on the basis of sampling. Remembering that only certain kinds of questions were asked, and that the soldiers are somewhat cautious of expressing their views, even in private, the survey is a remarkable admission of the failure of the Roosevelt regime to fool the people about its "fighting a war for democracy," etc., bunk.

Note the trick nature of the questions asked, too: "As a whole, do you feel that your life in the army is better, worse or about the same as you had pictured it before you were drafted?"

In reply, the men said:
Better 23%
Worse 23%
About the same 49%
If you reread the question it is not what you think at first. It does not ask honestly: do you think your army life is better or worse than what you had? The question adds a phrase about "as you pictured it."

Now most draftees had a very bad picture before they entered the army. They expected the worst, by and large. Only 28 per cent of them found it was not as bad as they imagined it. 23 per cent found it was worse than they thought and 49 per cent found just what they expected. Hardly a satisfied army!

On the matter of food, the draftees rated it, according to this survey:
Good 48%
Fair 33%
Poor 19%
About their clothes they said:
Satisfactory 47%

Don't fit 39%
Unsatisfactory 14%
How about army discipline?
Too lenient 16%
Too strict 6%
Inconsistent 10%
About as it should be 68%

What sacrifices did the soldiers consider the greatest when they entered army life?
Separation from friends and family 43%
Parting with freedom of civilian life 26%
Loss of income, business or job 31%

To view these statistics objectively one can come to only one important conclusion: there is little real enthusiasm for the military life imposed on a big section of the population.

COMPLAINTS ARE DEEP AND WIDESPREAD

Naturally, in any army, no matter how democratically called into being, say a people's army, there would be some beefing. But the dissatisfaction existing in the present conscript army is far deeper and more decisive than just the ordinary complaints. First the total complaints and the proportion are very high. But the clue to the lethargy and disgust in the army comes from analyzing the results of the questions of a political nature: Why and what? What political aims should it have and uphold? Seventy-five per cent of the draftees are opposed to convoys! Representative of their views is the following statement:

"Naval aid to Britain is going one step too far. Too much meddling in Europe's affairs got us into the last war and where did it get us?" Then there were four questions asked on foreign policy:
Which of the following four statements do you most agree with:
1. The United States should go to war with the Axis immediately.

For 1%
2. The United States should continue its policy of all out economic aid to Britain and expand America's military and naval forces to fight the Axis powers overseas if the Axis powers are not defeated by Britain."

For 23%
3. The United States should guard the entire western hemisphere but should send no military aid outside this area.
For 39%
4. The United States should be strictly neutral and prepare to defend only our own territory and possessions."
For 37%

AGAINST ROOSEVELT'S POLICY

Now an ultra-leftist would interpret these answers to indicate that the conscripts agree "in principle" to the Roosevelt "defense" program.

But we do not see the question abstractly, or formally. What we see is living and moving forces, going in opposite directions. And this is decisive to us.

For, obviously, the Roosevelt regime, as indicated in FDR's latest speech, is heading for formal declaration of war, overseas campaigns, world domination, etc.

The conscripts, in a vast majority, are out of sympathy with this foreign policy. They instinctively are heading in the opposite direction. They want to stay home, where they feel "defense of democracy" begins.

In a word, it seems obvious to us that Roosevelt is going to drag unwilling armed forces (who, by the way, reflect the majority of the people's views in this) into a conflict with whose aims they have no sympathy.

This factor, we believe, is the major cause of the present dissatisfaction in the United States Army. If you combine this with the bitterness of the labor movement over the way it is being kicked around while employers get bloated on war profits, you see the signs of another France looming ahead. For, despite all the ballyhoo about "national unity," the facts speak otherwise. Class interests and antagonisms are getting sharper, not lesser, if you look under the superficial picture presented by the newspapers, magazines and radio.

JACK WILSON.

AN EYE-WITNESS REPORT OF THE OCCUPATION OF POLAND

When Stalin "Socialism" Came to Poland

Editor's Note: The following document is excerpted from a long letter recently received in this country. The author, now a refugee "somewhere in China," is a young liberal lawyer who used to live in Warsaw.

On September 7, one week after the war began, the radio announced that Warsaw would not be defended and called on all young men to leave the city and proceed eastward for mobilization. At once a mass exodus of indescribable confusion began. Through extraordinary luck, I managed to locate both a taxi and a supply of gasoline. With my mother and sister, I traveled eastward. Our one thought—in common with the thousands of other refugees—was to escape the oncoming Germans so as to organize resistance deep in the interior.

After a few days, however, we realized that the war was lost and that the Germans, already at Lvov and Vilna, would occupy the whole country. We settled down in a large town in eastern Poland to await the worst. Then, on September 17, great news came over the radio. Russia's Red Army had crossed the Polish border!

The Great Hope of the Refugees

I say this was considered wonderful news, because at that time practically no one, among all the tens of thousands of refugees from Warsaw, dreamed that the Red Army would enter Poland for any other purpose except to fight the Germans. Even the Nazi-Soviet pact had not forewarned us. "A political maneuver," we thought. "Now that Hitler is embroiled in Poland, Stalin is attacking him." Furthermore, so great was everybody's fear and hatred of the Germans that even the comparatively well-to-do Poles looked forward eagerly to the arrival of the Red Army. They would lose their property and their social status. It is true, but they would lose all that plus their lives if the Nazis came in. Only the old Polish political police seemed to fear the approach of the Red Army: they were afraid of being denounced by the peasants they had mistreated so long. As for myself, despite the fact that through books I had long since acquired a knowledge of what Soviet Russia was really like, I was carried away by the prevalent enthusiasm that my first sight of a Red Army soldier made me burst into tears.

The first impression made by the Red Army was very favorable. The soldiers were simple, kind, friendly towards the population. (We all remembered the cruelty of the Germans—their indiscriminate bombing of tiny villages, their wholesale executions of civilians, the machine-gunning of peasants and even cows.) We were also much impressed with the many tanks, trucks and

motor-driven guns of the Russians. Such a contrast to the Polish Army, whose prime motive power was horses. It is true that the Russian soldiers were extraordinarily badly dressed, some of them almost in rags, many without leather boots, but, we thought, guns are the main thing. What use was his beautiful uniform to the Polish soldier, lacking artillery and tanks?

The Russian soldiers all sang the same tune: "We are going to Warsaw, where we will fight the Germans. No communist would ever make an alliance with the fascists. Don't worry—we have come to you as liberators. . . . If Stalin told us to take Berlin, we'd do it tomorrow!" Looking back, I can see only two possible explanations for this universal and bare-faced lie: either the rank and file soldiers actually believed this (in which case it is hard to account for their lack of protest when the truth became clear) or else they didn't believe it (but it is also hard to imagine mass lying successfully organized on such a scale). Anyway, we Poles all believed it at the time.

Triumphal Arches—and No Watches

The Russians at once began to build monumental gateways at the entrances to the villages, with huge inscriptions "TO THE GLORIOUS CONQUERING RED ARMY," etc. They had evidently been told they were entering a semi-barbaric country, quite unused to the wonders of Soviet culture. They seemed to think that automobiles were being seen here for the first time, and that the movies were unknown up to the moment their traveling projectors began showing in the village squares a number of childish "shorts" showing Cossack dances, Stalin smoking a pipe and kissing babies, etc. Since all this was done in the friendliest spirit by the common soldiers, the Poles responded good-naturedly, especially since they kept remembering the terrible Germans.

It became clear very soon, however, on which side of the Polish-Russian frontier lay the land of barbarism. It is hard to believe, but there seemed to be no watches in the possession of this great army. Even the higher officers rushed to buy, often at fantastic prices, the cheapest sort of Polish watches. (How a battle can be fought successfully by an army whose officers even lack watches—this is a mystery that the Kremlin some day will explain.) It was also clear that not only the soldiers but even the officers lacked knowledge of the simplest mechanical contrivances, the most elementary refinements of modern living. Thus I saw a Red Army officer carefully studying an ordinary water-pump for 45 minutes, trying to figure out how it worked. Another bought a coffee-grinder under the impression it was a gramophone. Still another encountered his first nightshirt in a Polish shop, put it on then and there, and

with his military boots emerging from one end and his red-starred helmet from the other, proudly marched off to pay a round of calls. It was found necessary, in hotels, to put up signs in the toilets: "PLEASE DO NOT STAND ON THE SEATS."

Soviet Democracy Swings Into Action

When the Red Army first came in, its officers told the local political functionaries to carry on as before, and the local employers to continue paying the same salaries. No changes would be made until the Soviet elections were held, at which time the people of eastern Poland could democratically decide their form of government and economy. Tremendous propaganda was poured out about this approaching election and how democratic it would be compared to the old Polish régime. In actuality, of course, it turned out just the reverse. In the semi-feudal Poland of pre-1939 (which, mind you, was a DICTATORSHIP), the voters had had a wide choice of parties—Communist, Socialist, Bund, Peasant, etc. In this election there was only one party—the Communist—and there was only one list of candidates. In Byelestok, the largest industrial city of the region, for example, the majority of the electorate was traditionally socialist—but not a single socialist candidate appeared on the election lists. The candidates were exclusively made up of two kinds: either Russian functionaries, or else Polish workers with no political background.

You will note that I don't include members of the old Polish Communist Party. That is because, although the Polish CP had existed for two decades and had a mass following, it was at first ignored and later savagely liquidated by the Soviet invaders. All former CP members were required to register with the Soviet authorities, who conducted the most searching inquiry into each one's political past. The slightest taint of "oppositionism" was enough to get the unfortunate "comrade" exiled to Siberia, if not worse. It was actually better to present oneself to the Soviet authorities as a member of the old bourgeoisie than to admit that one had ever been a communist!

The Soviet council, duly elected with all "democratic" ceremony, voted to collectivize the banks, railroads and large-scale industries. The smaller factories and the merchants were left undisturbed for the moment. (Since the Red Army had stripped the country bare of all manufactured goods, leaving piles of paper rubles to "pay" for them, and since there were no new stocks either of goods or raw materials coming in from Russia, it didn't make much difference whether these small bourgeois were expropriated or not. They speedily became unable to function economically and more or less liquidated themselves.)

The Poles Begin to Wake Up

After the elections had been held, and not until then, the Soviet authorities began to really "integrate" the Poles into the Stalinist system. The GPU took over the chief direction of affairs from the army. Living conditions rapidly became as nightmarish as they are in Russia itself, as the foodstuffs and goods "bought" so freely by the Red Army simply were not replaced by any shipments from Russia. Even worse than the lack of food and of the most primitive necessities of life, however, was the moral corruption of the new régime. The Soviet press in the occupied territories printed the most barefaced and shameless lies—endless propaganda about freedom, socialism, the high standard of living of the Russian masses (and of their Polish "comrades"), etc., all accompanied by nauseating peans to the great Stalin. Spies were everywhere, denunciations were encouraged. The only way to survive was to lie continually, systematically, every time one came into contact with the Soviet authorities.

It seems hard to believe, yet every one who was in eastern Poland at the time knows it for a fact that thousands of Jews who had somehow managed to escape from Nazi-occupied Poland and get into the Russian part, expecting to find work there and become good Communists—that thousands of them actually applied for permission to go back to the Nazi ghetto after a few months of experience in the Sovietized territory. Many of these Jews were treated with the peculiarly refined cruelty characteristic of the Stalinist bureaucracy. I heard of several instances like the following: a large group of such Jews were told that their request was to be granted and ordered to board a certain train on a certain day; then, when every one was aboard and the train doors safely locked, the train began to move IN THE OTHER DIRECTION and the unfortunate travelers were told they were being sent, not back to western Poland, but to Siberia! The standard procedure was to arrest and exile all who showed any desire to escape the blessings of Stalinist "socialism." The entire city of Lvov, for example, was blacked out one night while hundreds of GPU police made a systematic house-to-house search for such discontented elements. Often families would be wantonly separated, the wife and children being shipped to one part of Siberia, the husband going, a few days later, to a far distant region.

And always, the worse things became, the more hysterical became the tributes and hosannas to Stalin in the press of the occupied territory. In fact, whenever there was an especially thick rash of such tributes of gratitude—many in verse—we knew we could expect some particularly severe repressive measure.

The Hood, the Bismarck - - and Housing

By SUSAN GREEN

On May 24 the biggest battleship in the world went down to its watery grave. It took with it, to a useless death, over 1,300 unfortunate men, trained and skilled in the arts of war instead of peace.

There now lie in the utter, irremediable waste, at the bottom of the sea where the Hood sank, tens of thousands of tons of materials desperately needed by human beings all over the world for such peacetime essentials as DECENT HOUSING.

In exactly five minutes there was wiped from the face of the earth what was built in many years by the toil of men. A concentration of labor and material costing some \$50,000,000 was thus destroyed in the war between the imperialists of the world.

Three and a half days after the sinking of the Hood, the bomb-battered Bismarck nosed into the sea and disappeared forever. The creatures of the sea have by this time devoured, without any national preference, some 1,500 Germans along with the 1,300 Englishmen.

BATTLESHIPS VS. HOUSING

It took German workmen three years to build what was the newest and strongest floating fort, which nevertheless went down in no time. All this labor has been absolutely lost to human use. All the splendid building materials that made up the Bismarck will now serve the sharks in a game of hide and go seek. An absolute waste of another \$50,000,000 and of human lives!

Thus the sinking of the Hood and the Bismarck have dramatized for the working people of the world the tremendous, criminal, human and material waste of imperialist war.

During the days when the Hood and the Bismarck incidents occupied the place of honor in the daily press, one could have learned, by careful scanning of items considered less important, that a new housing project is now under way in New York City. In the Fort Greene area of Brooklyn, near the Navy Yard, where even more modern editions of the Hood and Bismarck are being

constructed at top speed, 23 city blocks are sprouting the groundwork for buildings which will house, in comparative comfort, over 3,500 families.

This building project, which will serve the very useful purpose of taking perhaps 17,500 people out of tuberculosis-breeding, fire-trap, old-law tenements, will cost a mere \$22,000,000—roughly, about ONE-FIFTH of the cost of the Hood and the Bismarck, which in no way furthered the well-being of human beings and took more than 2,800 men down to the bottom of the sea.

The working people of every nation on earth for years and years have been in need of clean, healthy places in which to live. In Rome and London, in New York and Berlin, in Istanbul and Madrid, there has been a monotonous, depressing and significant similarity. THERE HAVE BEEN THE SHOW PLACES WHERE THE RICH RESIDE AND GET RECREATION, and just as inevitably THE SLUMS WHERE THE POOR EXIST AND RECREATE. Alike in "democratic" England and fascist Italy, in "democratic" America and Nazi Germany, the vital need of the working people for DECENT HOUSING has—along with their other vital needs—been ignored. If not entirely ignored, it has been most inadequately dealt with. This goes equally for all the capitalist countries.

But not so with the needs of the imperialists of all nations for the instruments of war! No half-way measures in Germany when it came to war preparations. No putting off for another day in Italy when it came to air-planes and tanks. Time is of the essence, and neither men nor materials are spared in England to gear the country for war. And in the United States the most tremendous sea, air and land forces of all are being built with blitzkrieg speed.

WHAT THE FACTS SHOW

The striking contrast of capitalism's stupendous, unending building for destructive war, with its puny provision for peacetime needs of working people, is brought into focus by a few figures pertaining to the United States.

The United States naval program alone calls for the expenditure of billions of dollars. Super-battleships, doubling the cost of the Hood and the Bismarck, are being laid. The incredible sum of \$100,000,000 will go into each of these ocean monsters, which—with an "unlucky shot"—may go to keep the Hood and the Bismarck company at the bottom of the sea—a total waste!

EACH of these naval units to be produced by workers for the war use of their imperialist masters embodies in itself enough wealth to build nearly FIVE housing projects like the one at Fort Greene in Brooklyn. About EIGHTY-SEVEN THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED men, women and children could be provided with a healthier, freer, gayer life if that wealth went into building DECENT HOUSING instead of ONE super-battleship.

There are in "democratic" New York City, about 500,000 old-tenement apartments—in buildings 60, 80 and 100 years old—without heat and hot water, without proper toilets and baths, without sufficient ventilation, without fire protection. In this city alone about 2,500,000 people are on this sub-level of existence—WHILE, OF COURSE, BEING EXHORTED BY THEIR EXPLOITERS, EVERY MINUTE OF EVERY DAY, TO GO "DEFEND THEIR WAY OF LIFE."

FIVE YEARS OR 133 YEARS!

How long do you think it will take the American capitalist system to clear the shameful slums of New York City alone? Not in your life will it be done, Not in the lifetime of a new-born babe. Not in the life of generations to come. For, at the rate of building allowed by the present allocation of funds for such projects as the Fort Greene houses, IT WILL TAKE 133 YEARS! This is the speed with which capitalism takes care of the elementary needs of human beings!

But the building of the two-ocean navy—THAT IS ANOTHER STORY! In a mere FIVE OR SIX YEARS it will be completed—as will be also the military and air forces amounting to many more billions of dollars. The American imperialists won't have to wait 133 years for the murderous weapons they want! Neither did the

German, Italian or English bosses have to wait 133 years.

The boss-imperialists of the world are today debating the lessons FOR THEM of the sinking of the Hood and the Bismarck. Some of them think that bombers are better than battleships. Some think otherwise.

To the workers of the world the sinking of all this wealth that the workers of England and Germany produced for no good purpose, and the tragic loss of life, pose another question:

WILL THEY CONTINUE TO WASTE THEIR LABOR AND THE RICHES OF THE WORLD?

OR WILL THEY JOIN HANDS AROUND THE WORLD TO END ALL WARS AND FOREVER STOP THE BUILDING OF BOMBERS AND BATTLESHIPS!

On to socialism, under which fine houses, robust health, abundant happiness FOR THE WORKING PEOPLE will be the aim of labor!

Shachtman Meeting
In Philadelphia - -

Subject: How HITLERISM CAN BE SMASHED

Place: 329 PINE STREET

Time: SUNDAY, JUNE 15

Hitherto Untranslated Article
By Franz Mehring in the
June New International

The editors of The New International have announced the contents of the forthcoming June issue, the third issue of 32 pages. It promises to meet the same high standard as was set by the two previous 32 pagers. Following is a list of its contents:

- 1) The Editor's Comments of the month will deal with Roosevelt's latest speech, Max Eastman's retreat into the war camp, the TNEC reports and the myth of "Socialism in England."
- 2) Frank Demby has written an article on the growth of the airplane industry, which shows for the first time its relation to the capitalist economy of the country.
- 3) CDE continues his writings on The Next War.
- 4) Albert Gates begins a series of articles reviewing James Burnham's "Managerial Revolution."
- 5) J. R. Johnson writes of the revolutionary movement in Africa.
- 6) Henry Judd contributes an analysis of recent trends in the centrist movement.
- 7) David Coolidge contributes a discussion article on the Russian question.
- 8) The Archives of the Revolution section this month features the first lengthy excerpt from a previously untranslated article by Franz Mehring on historical materialism.
- 9) In the Book Review section, J. R. Johnson reviews Edmund Wilson's "To the Finland Station" and Irving Howe reviews Franz Hoelzinger's "The Defenders."

Make a point of getting this splendid issue of the N.I. Better yet, subscribe immediately!

Conscript the War Industries - -

(Continued from page 1)
mills, while the great propertyless mass of humanity has to toil in these factories and mills in order to live.

Especially great profits are today being made out of the war industries. These industrialists—with the financiers and other industrialists, each of whom has an investment he wants to save or extend—are the ones who want war, in whose interests Roosevelt has entered the war.

THAT A HANDFUL OF PARASITES SHOULD BATTEN ON THE IMPERIALIST SLAUGHTER OF MILLIONS OF WORKERS AND THE EXPLOITATION OF STILL GREATER MILLIONS, IS A CRIME CONCEIVABLE ONLY IN A BARBARIC SYSTEM WHERE ONE MAN LIVES OFF THE TOIL OF ANOTHER.

Take the war industries away from these people, we say! Make it impossible for them to wrest a cent of profit out of war production. But to take the industry away from a boss and turn it over to a group of men who speak his language, are his agents, accomplish exactly nothing. The government—boss will exploit the worker in the plant as much as the private-boss and for the same basic

reasons: to save profits—perhaps not of any individual boss, but of the boss CLASS.

Therefore we demand that the war industries be conscripted and PUT UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE WORKERS WHO PERFORM THE ACTUAL JOB OF PRODUCING. Let the workers, or the chosen representatives of the workers in the plants, decide how much shall be produced, how it shall be produced, and for what purpose!

No, we don't care a finker's damn about expediting war production. We are solely and exclusively interested in promoting the welfare of the working class and we neither apologize for that nor pretend that it is impartial.

Roosevelt won't grant that demand. You can be sure of that. That is, the ruling class won't give up without a fight. BUT THERE IS NOTHING THE WORKING CLASS CAN'T GET IF ITS DEMANDS AND ACTIONS SPEAK LOUD ENOUGH!

And yes, we readily admit it: if we win our demand against the bosses, a terrific blow will have been struck at the profit system, and at the system of boss war.

It will not automatically end the

profit system. The government will still be the executive arm of the boss class, will still be based on the profit system. Wars are not caused by the war industrialists alone. Nor are profits made by these industrialists alone. Wars today are caused by the entire ruling class, competing with the ruling class of other nations for world business.

We must go further: expropriate the Sixty Families, expropriate the exploiters of labor. This is the path that LEADS toward the permanent abolition of the profit system, of capitalism, of class exploitation. THAT IS THE PATH TOWARD SOCIALIST EQUALITY.

To the extent that Roosevelt wants to make the bosses shell out for their own war, we agree. But he is only trying to make them cough up a tiny part of the cost. Why, even in this very bill he includes the right to seize the few possessions of the poorest worker. At that, only those few bosses who, for their own special reasons, refuse to play ball are likely to be affected by this bill.

If the bosses and Roosevelt want war, we have no objection—provided they fight the war THEMSELVES and provided THEY PAY THE EN-

TIRE COST OF THE WAR by taxes, a levy on their accumulated wealth, the seizure of their property with or without compensation. If the bosses DO THE FIGHTING AND THE PAYING, it is their democratic right to go to war.

But to take a cent—or a pot—from a worker to wage a war from which a worker can't gain a single thing is UNDEMOCRATIC. To force a worker to sacrifice his life, his limb or his liberty is UNDEMOCRATIC—and that is precisely what Roosevelt is doing. With the powers he took unto himself in the emergency proclamation he will go further—in cracking down on the trade unions, in imposing longer hours, in squeezing indirect and direct payments out of labor. That is, he'll go further IF LABOR LETS HIM!

These then are our counter-proposals to Roosevelt's proposals. And they are made not in the interests of the bosses' "national defense," but in the interests of WORKING CLASS DEFENSE:

CONSCRIPT THE WAR INDUSTRIES UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL!

EXPROPRIATE THE SIXTY FAMILIES OF EXPLOITERS!

PRESS
ACTION

25¢ SUB DRIVE

The national campaign to get a minimum of 200 new 25¢ subscriptions to LABOR ACTION started off with a bang two weeks ago. St. Louis responded with 21 subs at one clip, Syracuse with four, and several other branches wrote and said that they expected to do big things with this drive.

But what has happened? This week saw only a few new subscriptions. Columbus sent in two, St. Louis one and Akron one. New York is holding up on its drive and quota of 75 until its City Convention, which is to be held shortly.

But what about all the other branches? Where are the subs Lynn has already obtained and promised to send in? San Francisco, writes that it expects to more than fill its quota but no concrete results have yet been shown. What is the new literature agent in Philadelphia doing about this drive? And Chicago South Side, with an unusually good record in other literature distribution, has not yet sent in any subs. And all other branches which have not yet responded in any way to this drive—what are YOU doing?

There are only six weeks remaining to fill our national quota of 200 new readers of LABOR ACTION. Let's get busy and start the ball rolling. The business office has arranged for this bargain introductory subscription rate so that you should have no trouble in getting new subscriptions. How about meeting us half way and doing your part in this drive?

Please send in AT ONCE all 25¢ subscriptions you have already obtained. Please write AT ONCE, if you have not already done so, on what your prospects are for filling your quota. And please get busy, AT ONCE, and get to work on obtaining new subs. Let's make this drive a 100 per cent success!

DISTRIBUTION DOPE

New York City has increased its weekly bundle of LABOR ACTION by 1,000 additional copies. With the warm weather and the opening of the street corner season, they expect to distribute these additional thousand copies, and hope soon to increase their bundle even more.

Local Philadelphia's weekly bundle has been doubled in size . . . from 100 to 200 copies, which is only one of the four bundles sent to Philadelphia.

St. Louis had an unusually successful sale of literature at the Shachtman meeting held there June 1st. This success resulted from a special literature talk given by one of the members of the branch. Other branches please copy!

Columbus sells eight to ten LABOR ACTIONS per week through its house-to-house work, which is carried on in a Negro neighborhood.

San Francisco is planning distributions at strikes and industrial plants in the Bay area, about which LABOR ACTION carries news, and they hope shortly to increase their bundle.

Akron had a good sale of LABOR ACTION during this past week . . . 46 copies were sold in their agitational work.

The above notes offer several helpful suggestions to other branches as to methods by which they can increase their LABOR ACTION sales. Among them are . . . push the paper at all meetings, open and indoor. Have one speaker devote his talk entirely to the press, pointing out the articles of particular interest, the regular columns, etc.; plan industrial distributions, sales at strikes in your area; the paper will be glad to print stories about what is going on in your city if you will send in the information. Systematic contact work, also, will enable you to build up a regular route of LABOR ACTION readers.

The business office from time to time will send you names of LABOR ACTION readers whose subscriptions have expired. These should be followed up immediately upon receipt and renewals obtained.

The circulation of LABOR ACTION and the branch bundle orders CAN be increased, if we devote our energies and concentrate our work around the paper. IT MUST be increased if we want to maintain the paper on its present basis.

FINANCIAL NOTES

The attention of the following branches is called to their accounts, payment on which must be made this week if they wish to receive next week's bundle: Los Angeles, Chicago Central, Baltimore, Lynn, Boston, Buffalo, Akron, Cleveland, South Philadelphia.

The necessity of regular weekly payments cannot be sufficiently emphasized. All old debts must be liquidated and payments for current bundles made each week. We don't want to stop sending your bundle; don't make it necessary for us to have to do so.

Editorials

OUR PROGRAM AGAINST THE WAR

1. Not a man, not a cent for Wall Street's war. All war funds to be unemployed.
2. For a rising scale of wages to meet increasing cost of living. Thirty-Thirty—\$30 weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers.
3. Expropriate the Sixty Families. For government ownership and workers control of all war industries—aviation, steel, chemicals, railroads, public utilities, etc.
4. Against both imperialist war camps. For the Third Camp of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples.
5. Let the people vote on war. For the right of youth to vote at the age of 18.
6. Abolish secret diplomacy. Open the files of the State Department.
7. Withdraw all armed forces from territory outside the United States. Free the colonies. Hands off Latin America.
8. Against compulsory military training and conscription.
9. For the defense of civil liberties and workers rights. Stop the persecution of aliens. Against the M-Day plans and war-time dictatorship.
10. For full social, economic and political equality for Negroes. End discrimination against Negroes in industry and in the trade unions.
11. For an Independent Labor Party.
12. For Workers' Defense Guards against Fascist and vigilante attacks.
13. No confidence in the Roosevelt government. For a workers' government and a people's army.
14. For Peace through Socialism. For the Socialist United States of America, for the Socialist United States of Europe, and for the World Socialist Federation.

Hands Off the Militant Unions!

Dan Tobin, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, has made an attack on the Minnesota teamsters' movement. Tobin's attack is directed specifically at Local 544 in Minneapolis. Writing in the official magazine of the teamsters for May, Tobin declares that the provision in the teamsters' constitution, barring Communist Party members from membership in the international, applies also to members of the Socialist Workers Party. Tobin claims that the Socialist Workers Party is the same as the Communist Party and that there are teamsters in Minnesota who belong to the Socialist Workers Party. Without calling any names, Tobin demands that such members get out of the union.

It is clear that Tobin's article is directed at Local 544 in Minneapolis. This is one of the most militant locals in the United States, and certainly by far the most militant and best conducted local in Tobin's international. Local 544 has been an example to other unions of what a trade union should be and how trade unions should be conducted in the interests of its members and the working class. Local 544 is a democratically operated union.

The executive board of Local 544 says correctly that: "The present leadership of Local 544 has been elected by the membership in a free and democratic election. It is the same leadership that has stood at the head of the movement during and since the great strike struggles of 1934. It has led the struggle against all the enemies of the workers, a struggle which has gained for the workers substantial increases in wages, regulation of their hours, seniority rights and general working conditions second to none in the entire country and superior to most . . . the record shows that we have always tried to conduct our trade union activities within the framework of the International Union of Teamsters and the American Federation of Labor."

Not only is this true, but the Northwest Organizer, the weekly paper of the Minneapolis teamsters, is the very best labor paper in the United States.

Why the Attack?

There can be no question that the Minneapolis teamsters have not only been loyal members of their own international but a loyal section of the American Federation of Labor. We remember, for instance, their enthusiastic reception of Dave Beck and their proposal for a national labor party with Tobin as the presidential candidate. In every situation these teamsters have conducted themselves above reproach as loyal members of the teamsters' international and the AFL.

But this is not enough for Tobin. Neither are these loyalties, the militancy of the local and the fact that it is a democratic workers' organization, a primary con-

sideration with Tobin and the AFL leadership. In fact, these qualities are secondary. Tobin and the AFL leadership have other fish to fry these days. There is an imperialist war going on. Tobin and the executive council of the AFL are lined up with Roosevelt and the other warmakers. Right now they are more interested in aid to imperialist England and in the imperialist war preparations of the U. S. than in making "Minneapolis a Union Town."

What Kind of Defense?

The executive board of Local 544 will be making a serious mistake if they rest their case on the purely technical and legal consideration that the teamsters' constitution specifies the "Communist Party" only. The board says: "In the first place, the interpretation of the provision in the constitution dealing with membership in the Communist Party as applicable to membership in any other political organization is clearly arbitrary and erroneous. The words in the constitution are very clear. They refer to the Communist Party only, and we see no way by which any other political party can be included in that provision of the constitution. We have been advised by competent attorneys that no such construction would be sustained in a court of law."

Well, we see a way by which "any other political party can be included in that provision of the constitution." The constitution can be changed; it can be interpreted, as Tobin has done; and the courts can change their previous interpretation to make way for the "clear intent of the framers of the constitution."

When the teamsters' international put the clause in the constitution barring "Communist Party" members from membership, they really meant to achieve the same ends as those unions which today bar "communists, nazis and fascists." We don't know when this clause was inserted in the teamsters' constitutions. Perhaps, as in the case of the miners, long before the war. This isn't decisive. The important thing is that Tobin is using that clause today to bar from membership all those who are against the imperialist war; all those who are not in agreement with Tobin and the AFL executive council on the question of the war. That is, Tobin and the AFL are demanding expulsions from the union for holding political beliefs and having political affiliations, different from their own.

The Workers Party holds that there should be no expulsion from unions for political belief or affiliation. Expulsion should be for anti-union activity only and solely. No charge of this kind can be leveled against the leadership of Local 544 and Tobin knows this all too well.

Resist the Jingos!

If expulsions are made for anti-union activity, Tobin and the AFL executive council would do well to leave Minneapolis alone and begin with the executive council itself. They can begin with Bill Green, who asked the FBI to help rid the AFL of racketeers. They can start with Frey, the strikebreaker, and George Browne, the racketeer. And Tobin might give some attention to some of his teamster locals in other cities.

Tobin's political attack (and that's what it is) on the Minneapolis teamsters demonstrates once again what the unions, especially the militant unions, are up against today as the ruling class drives into the imperialist war. The pro-war AFL leadership wants to get rid of all local militant leadership and all opposition to the politics of Roosevelt and the bosses. For them, in the past, this has meant the "Communist Party." The fact that the Communist Party, officially, is a rotten, filthy and thoroughly bureaucratized gangster outfit, is not of primary importance to Tobin and his friends. They have never been very firm opponents of gangsterism. What they mean when they say "Communist Party" is not only those who are members of a certain organization called the "Communist Party," but any and all whose political beliefs differ from Roosevelt and the bosses.

As the war develops and the Tobins and Greens become more and more enmeshed in the imperialist net of the bosses this will become clearer to the workers. They will discover that the Tobins and Greens are against all who oppose the war; against all militant unionists who are determined to fight for higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions; against strikes and all militancy. The main task of the workers in Minneapolis and everywhere is to resist this drive of their top leadership against militant trade unionists, whatever their politics or their political affiliations.

Report Army Camp Suicides

Puts Lie to Fable About Draftee Joy in Camp Life

By ELLEN MacGUIRE

LOS ANGELES, May 19—Anyone who goes to the movies at all has a hard time escaping the phony propaganda being ladled out to the effect that army camps are really summer resorts—a little rough, perhaps—you may hike all day through mud in sodden clothes or have your eardrums shattered by cannon—but it's all in a day's fun.

The other side of the picture—the part you'll never hear about in the recruiting speeches or the newsreels or over the radio—is that in three West Coast camps eight men have attempted suicide. The information leaked out through men on leave; otherwise everyone might still be under the impression that life in the army is just like Abbott and Costello say it is.

Although we have heard from friends of at least suicide attempts in the camps, only one story has reached the papers. Private Donald Te Vault, 22, from Fort Ord, Cal., slashed his wrists after three weeks

in the army. He waited until he got to Los Angeles, because he wanted to call attention to the situation in the camps. He left a note saying ". . . you know all about my feelings about this insane world. I'd rather have it this way than to do it after having killed one of my fellow men. . . ."

Te Vault told reporters: "Military training would be all right if it were for defense only. But I am convinced, and so are many other men I talked to at Fort Ord, that American soldiers are to be sent overseas to kill. . . . The people are being fooled. I was willing to die to wake them up. . . ."

An OFFICER at Fort Ord also tried to kill himself rather than continue in the preparation for the government's mass slaughter.

At Fort Lewis, in Washington, three VOLUNTEERS have committed suicide. Suicides are more dramatic than desertions, but they are part of the same thing—a situation that is so hopeless, so miserable, that men will risk anything to get out of it.

But suicides and desertions in their way are like conscientious objection—they call attention only to the immediate act. The soldier who wants to do a real job for his fellow men will try to get the men to demand better conditions in the army.

Men on leave have endless stories to tell about the abominable conditions that prevail everywhere. All camps have psychopathic wards to take care of men who crack up under the unduly harsh demands that are made.

Everyone remarks on the utter inefficiency with which the camps are run. There are shortages of everything—housing, sanitary facilities, food, clothing. And every day more and more men are being torn from home and jobs to be slapped in these camps that aren't half adequate for those already drafted. And every edition of the papers tells about further calls to be issued, so the unbelievably bad mess can be made worse.

As more men are drafted, greater efforts must be made to spread the idea among men in the camps that they don't have to put up with the tyranny of the army bureaucrats if enough of them get together and make united protests.

The Central Council of the CIO in San Francisco is making plans to build a recreation hall for draftees. This will afford a swell opportunity for conscripts to get together and to get the notion abroad that soldier's democracy isn't the unheard-of dream the brass hats claim it is. The important thing is to smash the myth that the backward, stupid, brutal clique of professional militarists that run the American army are somehow untouchable and all-powerful.

"SHOW ME THE WAY HOME" IS CONSCRIPT SENTIMENT

Dear Editor:

The brass hats are not having their own way with the soldiers in this camp. They have been forcing us to attend concerts whether we like it or not, so when they asked for request numbers the soldiers kept yelling out for the "Prisoner's Song," "Home, Sweet Home," "Show Me the Way to Go Home" and other songs which revealed their sentiments. When forced to sing "God Bless America" everybody sang off key and ridiculed the whole thing. Officers have been talking to the men all about patriotism since then.

They are no longer showing news reels at the theater. When Knox or Stimson's face would flash on the screen everybody booted. The lights were flashed on and off a couple of times and when the booting did not stop an officer jumped to the stage and told the soldiers that he would put them in the guard house unless they quit.

Notice came through today that they are shipping several thousand of us to serve at a base outside the country. Perhaps to teach us respect or something.

A Conscript.

TWU--

(Continued from page 1)

lowing: "The board is vitally concerned with operating the transit lines at a profit. This aspiration necessarily must come into conflict with the ambitions of its employees for better wages, shorter working hours and improved working conditions."

Thus the TWU gives notice that the class struggle between the bosses and the bossed must continue—even if the boss happens to be the government.

In the CIO Way

LABOR ACTION has compared the anti-union position of Mayor La Guardia with that of Ford—before the Automobile Workers Union picket line made him change his mind. This comparison is more than justified by a letter, just released by the TWU, sent by La Guardia on March 16, 1940, to the New York City chapter of the National Lawyers Guild.

The mayor wrote: "The right of employees to genuine collective bargaining has not, is not and will not be denied. . . . I expect to confer with representatives of all labor organizations having membership among the employees of the operating companies coming into city operation under the unification plan. Therefore, I cannot understand why an issue which does not exist is continually made the subject of discussion."

Ford also "could not understand" the issue. He also was willing to "bargain collectively"—with his own jerry-built, phony union, but not with the Automobile Workers Union, which truly represents the Ford workers. Ford now UNDERSTANDS. La Guardia also "expected to confer"—but not to make an agreement with the TWU, which truly represents the 32,000 transit workers of the city. La Guardia can also be made to understand—in the CIO way.

We Demand: Higher Wages and Workers' Rights for Conscripts!

THE NEGRO'S FIGHT

We Must Strike A Mighty Blow At Jim-Crow Now

By J. R. JOHNSON

Do not wait. Now is the time to strike. Why isn't every Negro community in the country, every discussion forum, every Elks lodge, every church group, every labor union with a Negro in it, every Negro social club—why aren't they getting together and organizing a nation-wide mass movement of protest against Jim-Crow in all its forms?

ROOSEVELT OVERLOOKS THE NEGROES

Roosevelt goes on the radio and declares a state of unlimited national emergency. Democracy, he says, is in danger. Therefore get ready to fight for Dakar and the Cape Verde Islands. Brazil, Peru, Argentina, all these are in danger. He invites all the diplomats from the Latin-American nations to hear all about the danger and how he proposes to fight it. But he invited no Negroes. So far as he is concerned, that part of democracy is not in danger.

He is in tears over China, the Jews of Germany cause him nights of sleeplessness, he is quaking with fear lest the "democracy" of Vargas, the Brazilian fascist dictator, be one tiny degree affected. But with regard to the Negroes in this country, lynching, the shameful discrimination in industry and in the government services—on that Roosevelt declares no national emergency. That can wait. It has waited for 75 years and can wait for 75 more. And it will wait till doomsday until the Negroes themselves jump to it.

OUR OWN "EMERGENCY" PLAN

In this world crisis the Negroes are in more danger than any other group of people, not because they are black, but because they are the poorest and most oppressed. In every crisis it is upon the poor that the heaviest weight falls, and never was there such a world crisis as this one. This is the time to fight. The plan of a march on Washington by thousands of Negroes is one of the best political ideas that has appeared in this country since the war has begun. Properly organized, it will create a sensation from London to India and bring the Negro question right where it belongs—in the front. It will be a fierce material challenge to Roosevelt's windy words. Democracy, Mr. Roosevelt? Die for democracy? What about some democracy here and now before I die? And not promises, but deeds. And not little scraps like a job for Pickens (to fool Negroes), or a Negro being made a general (who is to retire in a year's time), but complete democracy—no Jim-Crow anywhere—jobs for Negroes—in industry, in colleges as teachers, as officers in the army, freedom to enter training college and schools anywhere.

But is the President going to declare any national emergency over that? Not he! Is the Senate, that is ready to vote millions for the defense of democracy in China (read, instead, defense of American profits against Japan), is the Senate going to hold a special session to investigate the Jim-Crow from which the Negroes are suffering everywhere? You know as well as I do, my Negro friends, brothers and sisters, that nothing like that is going to happen. Therefore what? We have to do it ourselves. Unity is strength! All together!

HARLEM HAS SHOWN THE WAY

Harlem has shown the way. Harlem, long before the President declared a nation-wide emergency, Harlem said that democracy was not only in danger from Hitler, but that the New York bus companies were carrying out a most anti-democratic policy and had been doing so for years. So they didn't wait for the President, they didn't wait until after China had won. No. They went tooth and nail at the non-democratic employers and won a little democracy—not much, but a little.

And now what about Washington, and Baltimore, and Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Kansas City, Cleveland, Akron, Buffalo, Pittsburgh? The Negroes there need democracy as much as it is needed anywhere today. So organize and come out, brothers. Let us get together and march on Washington. And if you are too far away, march on the mayor of your town, march thousands strong, make your demands, picket and demonstrate.

Now is the time. They have to listen to you now. A national emergency exists. But it isn't the same national emergency as Wall Street's national emergency. Not on your life. Ours is a call, not to die, but to live for democracy and more democracy. And no Negro can breathe freely, far less live, as long as Jim-Crow exists.

LABOR ACTION 114 W. 14th Street New York City

Dear Friends:

I am interested in learning more about the Workers Party and its fight against the bosses' war plans.

Name _____

Address _____

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